175 669 [66] Nationalist Government was scarcely felt in the region. Petty despots forced crop lands to be diverted to the cultivation of opium poppies, levied and collected taxes for decades still to come, and enriched themselves in every way possible at the expense of the lives and property of the people.

175 635 In the 1930's, both Yunnan and Szechwan were brought largely under the control of warlords native to the respective provinces they dominated -- Lung Yün in Yunnan and Liu Hsiang in Szechwan. The foremost native of Kweichow was likewise a military man, Ho Ying-ch'in, who had a major part in running the wartime Chinese army as one of Chiang Kai-shek's most powerful military deputies and still retains some influence in military and civilian affairs on Formosa. Liu Hsiang died as the Nationalist Government removed its capital to Chungking in 1938 and brought new influences to bear in Szechwan. Although there was no love lost between Generalissimo Chiang and Lung Yün, the latter held a major share of his original power in Yunnan throughout the war of resistance against Japan. Two months after V. J-Day, Chiang occupied the warlord's capital of Kunming and incorporated Lung and his army into the national military force. In this capacity, he led his troops into Indo-China to accept the surrender of the Japanese forces there in 1945 and, later, against the Red Army. While pitted against the Communist forces, he fled China to Hong Kong and subsequently returned to the Mainland to serve in the New regime in Southwest China.

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575 memberships dissolved, the Communists invaded and controlled the societies' former areas of strength. This move was largely accomplished through the "democratic reform movement,"[22] which involved mass participation in public meetings, at which evidence of crimes committed by the societies was displayed and people were urged to reveal knowledge of the societies' membership and activities. Another part of the movement consisted of a concentrated attack upon all labor organizations suspected of being under the influence or control of secret socieites. Some of them had acquired leadership of labor groups in charge of wharves, railway, stations, and wheelbarrow "transportation centers." To eliminate the power of the societies, the Communists introduced a campaign to reorganize small transport firms into state-owned companies and to organize workers into Communist trade unions under the disciplined management of Party cadres.

II. CORRUPTION, WASTE, AND THEFT

A. The Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaigns

• 661 668 In December 1951, the Communists

22. New China Daily, Oct. 14, 1951, p. 2; Nov. 29, 1951, p. 1; July 24, 1952, p. 2.

661 launched the Three-Anti Campaign against
668 waste, corruption, and bureaucracy; a few months later the regime initiated the Five-Anti Campaign against bribery of government personnel, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and the purchase of economic information. These campaigns did more than affirm the Communists' determination to eliminate corruption and the most common causes of "degeneration" within the Party, state organizations, public enterprises, and private business firms; the drives also enabled the Communist leadership to tighten its grip on private enterprise, heighten discipline throughout the Party and public organizations, and exert closer surveillance and control over the whole state apparatus. The Three-Anti Campaign was directed at administrative and Party personnel, and the Five-Anti Campaign at merchants and industrialists. Since Party members were, in most cases, administrative officers, the first campaign hit Party and administrative personnel from two sides and since state-operated enterprises and administrative organizations were involved with private business, the attack upon business also was felt by administrators and Party members.

B. Corruption

661 Most of the charges and disclosures
685 that accompanied the progress of the Three-Anti

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661 and Five-Anti campaigns can be grouped under
685 the general heading of corruption. In Southwest China, the department of industry was one of the first to be singled out for attack.[23] An initial study of the department's operation under two years of Communist rule disclosed 157 cases of corruption involving 173 persons and property valued at 668,000,000,000 yuan. One worker was accused of corruption amounting to 79,000,000,000 yuan, and another, in collaboration with a merchant, of stealing from the state equipment and material valued at 100,000,000 yuan. Many of the cases revealed in the financial and economic organizations of the Southwest Region were reported to be connected with espionage activities.[24] Not only individuals were charged with supporting Nationalist espionage through corruption in state organizations; the bureau of taxation in one county was reported to have appropriated 20,000,000 yuan from tax revenues for the use of counterrevolutionaries. The total loss to the government in 1950 and the first half of 1951 from the corrupt practices of personnel working in the tax-collection organizations of

23. Ibid., Dec. 17, 1951, p. 2.
24. Ibid., Dec. 25, 1951, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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661 the Southwest Region was set at over
685 11,000,000,000 yuan.[25] Charges of widespread corruption were also lodged against military organizations. At the conference of the general Party branch of the Southwest China Military Command held in December 1951, regional Party leaders warned the gathering of the seriousness of the situation.[26] Corruption was reported to be most rife in the quartermaster and political and cultural departments of the command.

The most frequently mentioned type of corruption in all organizations was the misappropriation of funds.[27] Government employees were accused of living luxuriously at the expense of the state. One means to this end was the extravagant appropriation of funds for government meetings. A meeting called by the department of industry of the Southwest China regional government lasted 21 days, during which 10,000,000 yuan were spent on food and an equal sum on the furnishings for one of the living accommodations.[28] The political and cultural department of the region's military command was accused of having spent

25. Ibid., Dec. 19, 1951, p. 1.
26. Ibid., Dec. 19, 1951, p. 1.
27. See for instance reports in ibid., Jan. 1, 1952, p. 2; June 17, 1952, p. 1.
28. Ibid., Nov. 22, 1951, p. 2.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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661 58,000,000,000 for the repair of one theater
685 and 40,000,000,000 yuan for the construction of one film factory.

Within the 26 departments of the Southwest China regional government, 139 persons accused of corruption involving less than one billion yuan were arrested during a six-month period;[29] another 182 individuals in the municipal government of Chungking were arrested within the same span of time;[30] personnel of the provincial governments were also charged with corruption and taken into custody. Among the members of the Kweichow Provincial Government arrested were Chang Chin-po, deputy head of the department of public security, and Wang Jen and Yen P'u, both officials in the bureau of information and publications.[31]

Charges of corruption entailing bureaucratic abuses ranging from dictatorial acts to disobedience were lodged against Party and government officials during the Three-Anti Campaign. Some of the accused were dismissed from the party; others were

29. Ibid., Feb. 9, 1952, p. 1.
30. Ibid., Feb. 19, 1952, p. 1.
31. Ibid., March 12, 1952, p. 2; Jan. 23, 1952, p. 1.

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placed on trial in the People's courts. Among the Southwest China officials punished for bureaucratic abuses were Tu Hung, chief of the secretariat of the Chungking Municipal Government and concurrently secretary of the Party branch of the municipal government. He and his deputy chief were accused of dictatorial acts.[32] Similar charges were lodged against T'u Kuo-lin, deputy of the Southwest China broadcasting station;[33] T'ang P'eng, deputy of the New Democratic Youth Corps school; and Mei Wen-hua, an official of the Chungking Federation of Democratic Women.[34] Kou Hsing-ts'ai and his deputy, Chang Tse-min, officials in the public security department of the eastern Szechwan special district, were accused of disobedience.[35]

C. Theft and Waste

The Communist definition of theft extends beyond the usual meaning of the word. Tax evasion and the falsification or default of government contracts are considered theft

32. Ibid., Jan. 13, 1952, p. 1.
33. Ibid., Jan. 16, 1952, p. 2.
34. Ibid., Jan. 7, 1952, p. 1.
35. Ibid., Jan. 17, 1952, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
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storage methods. For example, during one four-month period of 1951, 317,000,000 pounds of crops worth 28 billion yuan were reported to have spoiled due to improper warehousing.[38] Instances of waste increased as industrialization was accelerated. An inspection during the end of 1954 and the beginning of 1955 of a major industrial organization with a factory in Chungking revealed an accumulation of excess materials valued at 350 million yuan (new currency). One of the construction jobs in which the Communists originally took great pride was the four-year task of building an auditorium in Chungking patterned on the "Temple of Heaven." In 1955, the Communist press reported that the structure required the annual expenditure of 100,000 yuan (new currency) and the services of 50 men for maintenance.[39]

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687 The cases cited above are only examples of the charges and prosecutions brought against thousands of firms, private individuals, government officials, and Party members in the Southwest Region during the Three-Anti

38. Ibid., Nov. 11, 1951, p. 1.
39. Ibid., April 9, 1955, p. 2.

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661 and Five-Anti campaigns. Some of the cases
687 undoubtedly involved conscious attempts to defraud the government or misuse public office, but others probably arose out of unintentional errors and mistakes. It seems apparent also, that many firms and individuals were innocent victims of the Communist regime's attempt to take over private industry, tighten discipline within Party ranks, find scapegoats for the Party's errors, and establish firmer control over the people generally.

III. TENSION AND PUBLIC DISCONTENT

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668 Public discontent and tension are invariably the result of excessive centralization of government and strict regimentation of the populace in any state. The Communist regime in China has not only regulated and restricted the people through Party, state, and mass organizations, but also has imposed on the population terror, high taxation, and extensive public obligations. Despite the attempts of the Communists to seek popular support and persuade the people to believe in a brighter future, both discontent and tension in China today cannot be overlooked or minimized.

Popular unrest is inferred in the frequency, intensity, and nature of such programs as the Suppression-of-Counter-revolutionaries Movement and the Three-Anti

499 Over one-third of the total construction work of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway had been completed by the Nationalists before 1949; the Communists finished the railway in June 1952.[2] According to the Communists, they built 15 new tunnels, 28 large bridges, 189 small bridges, 446 culverts, and about two-thirds of the road foundation.[3] About 35,230 tons of steel rails and 1,250,000 railway ties were needed.[4] Most of the steel rails were supplied by the iron and steel plant at Chungking.[5] The supply of railroad ties presented serious problem but a sifficient amount of timber was collected when the Communists announced that peasants would be allowed to pay land tax in timber instead of grain.[6]

499 When the Chengtu-Chungking Railway
•661 was under construction, a great number of charges of waste and corruption were brought against officials. In Chiu-lung-p'o, Communist

2. Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, July 11, 1955, p. 13.
3. Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily], Hong Kong, July 12, 1950, July 4, 1951.
4. Wang Chih-fen, op. cit., p. 25.
5. Chao Yung-seen, Railways in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union R search Institute, 1955, pp. 23-24.
6. Ibid.

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499 cadres were charged with stealing ¥1,000
661 million ($40,000).[7]

Many bridges collapsed and had to be rebuilt because material of poor quality had been used.[8] Some Communists cadres could not be trusted to inspect the quality of work done, and others were willing to approve poor work if the contractors paid them a bonus or offered bribes.[9]

497 In July 1952 the Chengtu-Chungking Railway was open to traffic.[10] This railroad, which runs through the richest farmlands of Szechwan, brought new economic prosperity to the province. With the low-cost transportation, the region can sell rice, sugar, salt, and coal in many markets. Principal native products (hemp, vegetable oil, tobacco, and herb medicine) of Western Szechwan are shipped in large quantities from Chengtu to Chungking by rail and thence down the Yangtze River to Central-South and East China.[11]

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7. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Feb. 22, 1952.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. China Weekly, Hong Kong, July 11, 1955.
11. People's China, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, July 16, 1953, p. 29.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173 periors the title of Yün-t'ung 運同 (Assistant Salt comptroller). In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853), the Ssu-ch'uan bandit Ts'eng Hung-shun 曾洪順 held Yao Shan [this is the Wua-ha Shan which separates Yung-ning from the Yangtze]. He and his soldiers attacked and killed the bandits. In the seventh year (1857) he died of illness.

After him came his son, A Kuo-pao 阿國寶. In the eighth year of Hsien-feng (1858), he received his commission. In the 11th year (1861), Yung-pei was lost [taken possession of by bandits; the Mohammedan rebels are meant]. He used his own money and grain and sent two headmen, A Hsi-ling 阿錫齡 and Chou Shang-wen 周尙文, to lead their soldiers to attack. Governor Hsü 徐 conferred on him the fourth civil rank (雲雁) and the wild goose feather. In the ninth year of T'ung-chih (1870), they recaptured the city. Afterwards, together with his headmen, he led his soldiers to attack and kill the bandits of Yang-pi 漾濞, Ta-li, Shun-ning 順寧 and T'eng-yüeh. In time of distress his strength became manifest. The title of Yün-t'ung was then conferred on him. In the fifth year of Kuang-hsü (1879) he received the hereditary appointment. In the 15th year (1889) he died of illness. His son Cheng-chi 正基 became hereditary chief, but as he died of illness and his grandson Chi-tsu 繼祖 was still a minor, it was approved that his grandfather's wife Chang 章氏 (of the Chang family) should assume the duties and take care of the grandchild.

In the 24th year of Kuang-hsü (1898) A Chi-tsu 阿繼祖, son of Cheng-chi, received the appointment to the hereditary position, that is, the letters patent and documents of office. He is to this day still in his official position." [5]

4. LO-LO RAIDERS AND IMPOTENT MAGISTRATES

567 661 The people are so poor that they have little to be looted of, so the Lo-lo carry off their defenceless children to be sold as slaves to other Lo-lo in more distant regions. In 1928 they raided the Pai-chio-pa 白角壩 district and carried off in one month 67 people, men, women and children, who were sold as slaves. Everyone in these villages wanted to flee, because they feared that they might all be carried off and sold into slavery. They even dared not go and cut firewood on the mountain-side for fear of being captured by the Lo-lo. This while the Chinese divisional magistrate and the T'u-ssu smoked opium in their yamen, unconcerned and powerless to remedy the situation. And yet a Hsi-k'ang official (Tsung-pan 總辦 Director) by the name of Ch'en 陳, from Wa-li 窪裏 on the Ya-lung Chiang in Hsi-k'ang, came in January of 1929 with some soldiers to Yung-ning. They commandeered Na-khi peasants *en route*, to carry loads of rifles; over 100 they brought to Yung-ning in Yünnan to sell with ammunition to whoever could afford to buy them. In order to prevent the Lo-lo from getting them, who would sell their soul for a rifle if they could, the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan was obliged to buy most of them,

[5] Later a Fen-hsien 分縣 (Divisional sub-magistrate) was established at Pai-chio-pa, but with the encroachment of the Lo-lo tribe from Ssu-ch'uan who are overrunning this region, both the T'u-ssu and the Fen-hsien have lost control, and their lives have been endangered. The office of Fen-hsien has now been abolished. The T'u-ssu is an opium addict and is unable to control affairs, which run themselves.

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none of the peaceful peasants having the money to pay for them. They were old ex-German army rifles dating from 1870, and the Wa-li Tsung-pan, Ch'en, sold them with 25 rounds of ammunition for 100 to 120 dollars silver apiece.

5. THE BURYING ALIVE OF A LO-LO LEPER

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I shall here describe the burying alive of a leper in the district of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu 莨菪土司, where a divisional magistrate resided, besides the Mo-so T'u-ssu, neither of whom was able to prevent such a method of disposing of a live leper.

The male leper in question was well advanced with the disease when his relatives decided to bury him alive. He was taken to the top of a grassy hill, accompanied not only by his relatives, but also by his village neighbors, for such an occasion is always one of feasting and drinking. An ox had been killed and skinned, the wet skin was spread out, hair down, on the top of the grassy hill, and the leper was seated in the center of the skin. He was fed plentifully with beef, and was given sufficient quantities of strong liquor, brewed from grains, to make him intoxicated. Both relatives and friends gorged themselves on the beef and drank great quantities of liquor as only a Lo-lo can.

In the meantime a large circular hole had been dug not far from the spread-out skin on which the leper sat in a dazed condition. A large wooden tub had also been prepared and placed near the hole. The relatives then sat around the ox hide and the leper and began their lamentations, telling him that the time had come for him to leave, and that there was no way out, but that now he had to depart to the land of his ancestors. They wept and howled, interspersing their lamentations with draughts of strong drink, of which also the poor leper had to partake freely. He was consoled with the fact that he had been well feasted and given plentifully of strong drink. Finally, after the feasting was over, a last draught of liquor in which opium had been dissolved was given the poor leper, whose last minute had now arrived.

As soon as he had swallowed the poisoned drink, relatives rushed to the four corners of the ox hide and in an instant he was tied and securely sewn into the skin, ere his last breath should leave him. It was of great importance to them that he should not die before being securely tied in the wet ox hide. He was then quickly lifted into the wooden tub, and the latter was placed into the prepared hole in the ground. All hands worked feverishly for he had to be buried before life had become extinct in his ox hide prison. The tub was quickly covered and in addition a large cooking pot was put over it inverted, and the hole filled with earth, while the village Pe-mu, or sorcerer, chanted from a Lo-lo manuscript, entitled *Nunv ndü nunv p' nunv ngü yi*, the meaning of which is "Close the road of the demon of leprosy." This demon is called Nunv. The deity Ra-sa, of which a picture occurred in the book, who alone is able to suppress Nunv, the demon of leprosy, was thus invoked, during the burial of the leper, to close the road of the demon. It is believed that should the leper die before being tied up in the ox hide and before burial, that is, should his last breath escape, it would return to